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**The 'Butoh' of Sankai Juko**

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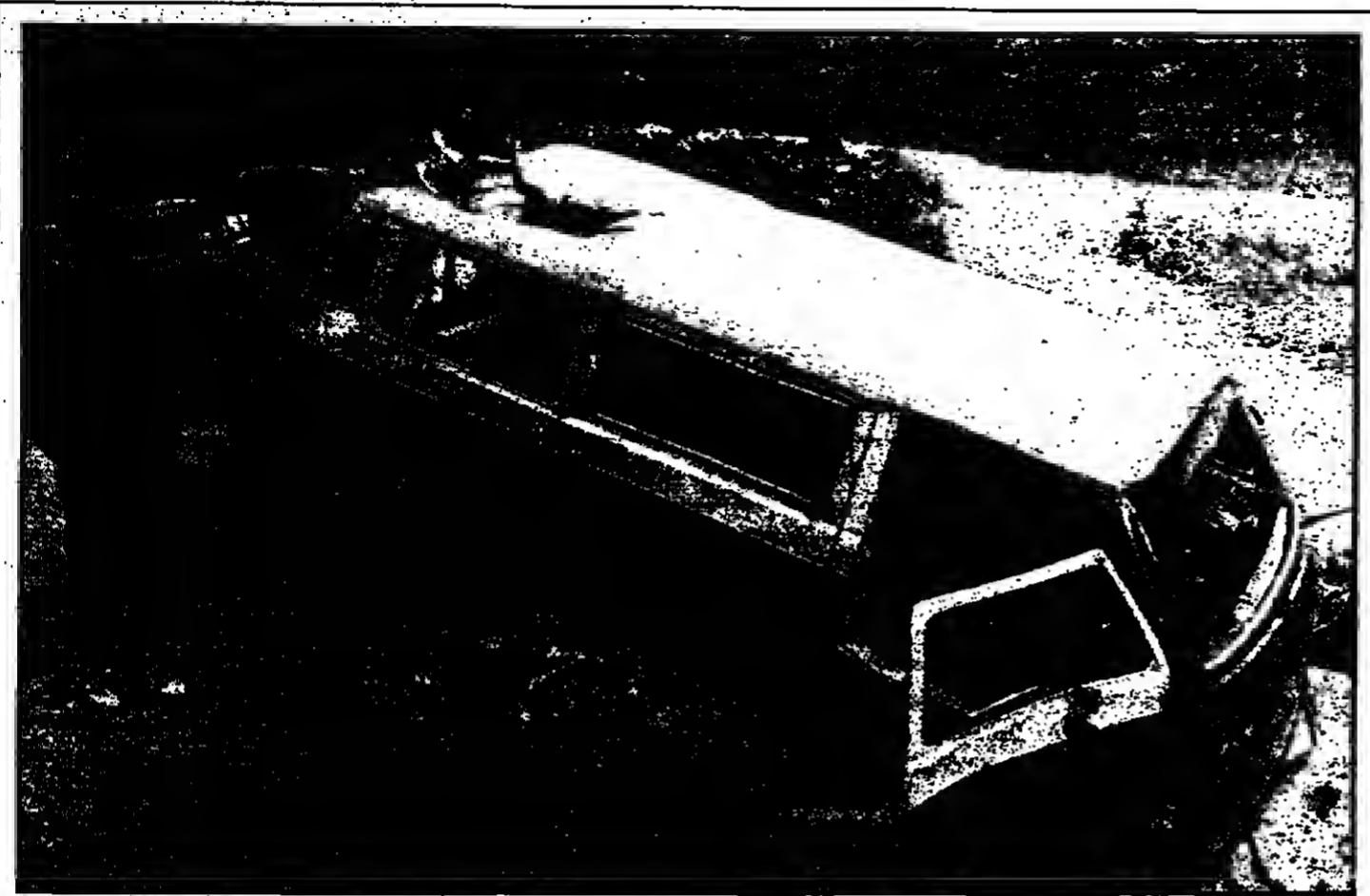


**Netanyahu meets Hussein in Amman**

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Palestinians survey a minivan yesterday in the Kana River. The vehicle plunged from a collapsing bridge Saturday drowning at least seven Palestinian workers.

## IDF joins flood victim search

**By DAVID HADGE**

In the Kalkilya region, IDF troops and Palestinian Police continued the search for passengers of the packed van that was swept away by the floods.

The forecast for today is for isolated thunderstorms to continue throughout most parts of the country with the rain and strong winds dying out tomorrow.

The Volkswagen minibus filled with Palestinian laborers trying to sneak past an army roadblock into Israel fell off a rickety bridge late Saturday into the swollen Kana River, which swept them away and drowned at least seven passengers. IDF troops answered a call for help from the Palestinian Police and by yesterday afternoon, with the help of a helicopter, had found the bodies of seven people who had been riding in the van. According to two survivors, four more passengers were still missing.

The Palestinians were reportedly from the Jenin region and did not have Israeli work permits. The IDF said it was fully coordinating the searches with the Palestinian Police, but that now searches were focused near the Israeli village of Jaljulya and that Israeli police were involved. It is feared that the bodies may have been carried into the Yarkon River and security sources say they may have been swept to sea.

The Palestinian Authority search and rescue parties began the search and then called on Israel for help. The IDF sent units of Golani Brigade troops to the scene. From daybreak the soldiers worked alongside the Palestinians, including relatives of the missing men, in the search and rescue operations.

Maj. Gen. Gabi Ophir, commander of the IDF forces in Judea and Samaria, told reporters that the troops had expressed their condolences to the families at the scene when bodies of their relatives were found. They also offered their condolences to the PA.

Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu also contacted PA Chairman Yasser Arafat to express the government's condolences.

Ophir said the soldiers had searched both banks of the Kana River as far as its junction with the Yarkon and the matter had then been transferred to the police.

As the searches continued, residents of Kalansawa village in the Triangle region began rapping up after the floods that swamped nearly 1,000 homes in the community on Saturday began to recede.

Negba, which borders the Gaza Strip, recorded the largest amount of rain in the country yesterday with 100 millimeters, while Jerusalem was hit with 46 mm. and Tel Aviv with 19 mm.

Tourism Minister Moshe Katsav visited the village yesterday and met with local council leaders and residents. The government has reportedly promised to provide funding for drainage and other measures to try and prevent flooding from the rivers in the future.

It is still too early for farmers to count the costs of one of the harshest winter weekends for years.

"It's impossible to be accurate until the waters have fully subsided," Agriculture Ministry spokesman Naphthali Yaniv said.

The recent cold snap and earlier drought caused millions of dollars of losses to farmers. The prolonged dry spell, for example, led to the ruin of some 60,000 tons, or \$4 million worth of seeds in the Negev.

The damage caused by the flooding also affected farmers elsewhere in the country. Field crops in northern and central districts were badly hit. Farmers in the South, however, complained that hardly any rain had fallen there and their crops had dried up.

Fruit and citrus farmers, on the other hand, welcomed the heavy rains, which will help ripen fruits after the long dry spells that have characterized the winter.

Mekorot officials reported that the water level in the Kinneret had risen by as much as 22 centimeters since last Friday - more than half of the total of 40 cm. that it has gone up during the entire winter season.

They noted, however, that the water level is still more than 2 meters from its maximum mark, although it is expected to continue to rise in the coming days due to the strong inflow from the Jordan River and other streams and tributaries that ultimately flow into the lake.

Arich O'Sullivan and David Harris contributed to this report.

## State Attorney, police push for lid on leaks

**By SARAH HONIG and Jerusalem Post Staff**

After a day of trading accusations over the leaks in the Bar-On affair investigation, the State Attorney's Office and the police agreed to not make any more statements until the investigation is finished and conclusions are reached in order to prevent the spread of disinformation.

The decision came after a tense meeting on the topic yesterday morning attended by Attorney-General Elyakim Rubinstein, State Attorney Edna Arbel, Police Deputy Inspector-General Gabi Last, investigation head Cmdr. Sando Mazor and senior investigators.

The participants issued a joint statement saying, "there is a legal, public and humane need to protect the rights of those who are investigated who, like all human beings, are considered innocent and have to be publicly seen as being innocent" while the investigation is in progress.

Earlier in the day, senior police sources involved in the investigation scored the State Attorney's Office for the leaks, particularly those referring to the questioning of Prime Minister Binyamin



Ya'acov Weinroth (Brian Hendler)

Netanyahu, saying they would harm the investigation by providing vital information to potential suspects.

Police say that the critical information only reached the media after the meeting on Thursday at

**Hanegbi files complaint against Channel 1, Page 2**

**Stock market drops sharply over Bar-On affair, Page 9**

which investigators provided the State Attorney's Office with details of the investigation.

However, the State Attorney's Office responded that police were just trying to deflect the blame and suggested that two senior police officials were responsible for supplying the media with the informa-

**Continued on Page 12**

## PM pledges Har Homa quid pro quo

**By DAVID MAKOVSKY**

Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu informed Jordan's King Hussein during a visit to Amman yesterday that Israel plans to "simultaneously announce this week" the construction of some 2,600 Jewish housing units in Har Homa while it grants permission for the construction of an "approximately equal" number of Arab units in the Jerusalem area, participants in yesterday's talks says.

In remarks at the joint press conference at the Raghdan Palace, the monarch sought to be diplomatic but urged all to act "responsibly" to ensure peace prevails.

When asked specifically about his views on Har Homa, Hussein said: "I know how sensitive the issue of Jerusalem is. I hope nothing will ever happen that will explode emotions. We have to think with our minds and hearts."

While trying to play down differences, when pressed further, Hussein, added, "our principled position is to oppose any change (in eastern Jerusalem) that would effect or threaten the peace process."

**Story, Page 12.**

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## Turkmenis seek to supply gas to Israel

**By DAVID HARRIS**

Turkmen Foreign Minister Boris Sheikmuradov has requested a meeting with National Infrastructure Minister Ariel Sharon to discuss the supply of natural gas to Israel, a senior industry source said last night.

Sheikmuradov has apparently asked Foreign Minister David Levy to arrange the meeting for March 19.

If a deal were to come out of the negotiations, it would provide an alternative to lines of supply from Qatar and Egypt, which are proving difficult to secure.

The Turkmenis are proposing the construction of a pipeline under the Caspian Sea to Turkey.

**Continued on Page 2**

## Hadash MK Bashara's new kidney - courtesy his brother

**By JUDY SIGES**

Bashara was diagnosed with hypertension and of late has been receiving medication for it, but a few months ago his kidney function suddenly deteriorated and he needed dialysis. "I tried not to let it interfere with my work in the Knesset," said Bashara, a 40-year-old Nazareth resident.

His siblings all underwent compatibility tests, and Marwan - an author and teacher at the American University in Paris - was found the most suitable.

Dr. Ahmed Eid, a senior Hadassah surgeon who performed Israel's first liver transplant some years ago, will do the operation.

"I hope he doesn't take out my liver by mistake," said the MK, who added he was relieved to

undergo surgery, as dialysis is very time-consuming and tiring.

The MK has raised the issue of organ transplants with Knesset Labor and Social Affairs Committee chairman MK Maxim Levy, but he wants to separate his health from his political activity. "It's not my style to mix the two, but I will promote organ donation through the proper channels. There are 1,000 people in Israel waiting for a kidney."

Politics and working in the Knesset is not always conducive to good health, said Bashara. "I've worked so hard in recent months that few noticed I had to cut down on my activity. Until recently, I didn't think much about my health," he said.

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# 120 Hindus die in India fire

News agencies

**BHUBANESHWAR, India** - At least 120 Hindu devotees were killed and 165 injured yesterday when fire swept through temporary shelters at a religious conference in eastern India, authorities said.

The interior secretary of Orissa state, S.C. Hota, said in the state capital Bhubaneswar that some 15,000 people were attending the conference in Baripada town when the blaze swept through thatched huts erected for the event.

He said strong winds fanned the fire, which broke out at about 3:30 p.m. and swiftly engulfed the camp in Baripada, 220 km north of the state capital.

The cause of the fire was not yet known, Hota said.

Most of the victims were men napping after lunch at the national conference, dedicated to the mem-

ory of the Hindu guru, Swami Nigamananda, Hota said.

At least 165 injured were taken to local hospitals, he said.

Earlier, the Press Trust of India said some 200 people were feared killed and several hundred injured in the blaze.

Police were still recovering bodies, said Orissa's director general of police, A.B. Tripathy. Hota said only a few more bodies were likely to be recovered.

Indian news agencies had earlier put the toll at at least 200. The cause of the blaze had not yet been determined.

Baripada was overwhelmed by the disaster - the town has only two fire trucks. The state government ordered doctors from larger towns to rush to the site of the blaze.

Swami Nigamananda has been dead many years, but his followers, mostly in eastern India, wor-

ship his memory and continue to seek his otherworldly blessing.

Organizers had built one huge hut and several other sheds of straw walls under thatched roofs for their meetings and as temporary shelters, Hota said.

"So it all burned really fast." The blaze completely destroyed all the straw and thatch huts.

Press Trust of India news agency reported eyewitnesses said that the fire started from an electric short circuit in the main hut and people, most of them poor villagers, panicked and rushed to the exits.

Many people may have died in the stampede, Press Trust said.

United News of India said the cause may have been the explosion of a gas cylinder used for cooking.

The Nigamananda festival has been held in Baripada annually for the last 46 years.



## New hope for Tibet

The exiled Tibetan leader the Dalai Lama greets his disciples at Dharamsala in the northern Indian state of Himachal Pradesh yesterday. The Dalai Lama said China's new leader, Jiang Zemin, could help resolve the Tibetan issue. (Reuters)

## UN can take Iraqi missile parts

**BAGHDAD (Reuters)** - Iraq has agreed to let the United Nations take scrapped missile engines out of the country for examination, UN arms envoy Rolf Ekeus said yesterday.

"The government of Iraq agreed to the removal of remnants of proscribed missile engines from Iraq for in-depth analysis by the commission," Ekeus, chairman of the UN Special Commission on Iraq (UNSCOM), told reporters in a joint news conference with Iraqi Foreign Ministry Undersecretary Riyad al-Qeisi.

The United Nations wants to establish if scrapped parts are from missing Soviet-made engines as Iraq maintains or are local equipment buried to divert attention from hidden missile engines.

Ekeus arrived in Baghdad and held extensive meetings with Deputy Prime Minister Tareq Aziz during a four-day visit that ended with a joint statement outlining future cooperation.

Ekeus did not say when the approximately 100 scrapped engines and parts packed in boxes at UN headquarters in Baghdad would be removed. He said he intended to take them to laboratories in either the United States or France.

Earlier Iraq had objected to shipping parts to the United States, although it said it would allow inspection in Russia or France.

The components were unearthed in excavations last year, Iraq said it destroyed the missiles in 1992 and Ekeus said unilateral scrapping of banned items by Iraq had complicated his work.

He said Iraq claimed to have unilaterally dismantled a large portion of its long-range missiles and production tools. "This you can imagine creates a lot of deep concern," he said.

Ekeus did not say how many missiles he believed were missing but said Iraq could still be concealing equipment.

## Yeltsin 'fully recovered'

**MOSCOW (AP)** - Looking healthy and speaking strongly, President Boris Yeltsin yesterday declared himself ready to take on his foes in Russia's parliament and tackle the conflict with NATO over its planned expansion.

"I am fully recovered, that's it," Yeltsin said after laying a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier outside the Kremlin to mark a holiday honoring the military.

"You can now say my sickness has passed; now I just need to regain some of my strength," the 66-year-old president said in a rare face-to-face meeting with journalists.

Yeltsin said he had lost 26 kilos since heart bypass surgery in November and a bout with double pneumonia in January.

He said his recuperation has been slower than he expected, but he's finally getting back on his feet.

"I feel my strength coming back," Yeltsin said. "I'm thinking clearly and I'm fully aware."

## China readies for Deng cremation

**BEIJING (AP)** - Police blockaded a cemetery for revolutionary heroes yesterday and kept back hundreds of curious Chinese as soldiers made final preparations for the nation's farewell to Deng Xiaoping.

Deng was to be cremated today, sources at state-run television said. That would be hours before US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright arrives in Beijing on the last stop of a nine-country, 11-day around-the-world tour.

Eulogies praising Deng's exploits and his economic reforms, which raised tens of millions of Chinese from poverty, ran throughout yesterday on government television and other media.

Soldiers, meanwhile, solemnly rehearsed carrying a see-through bier at the cemetery for Communist veterans in Babaoshan, western Beijing, where Deng is to be cre-

matied.

Police blocked a side road to the cemetery and kept back crowds of about 200 people from its front gate, where a flag flew at half-staff.

At one point, a stream of about eight black limousines sped out of the cemetery.

Deng died Wednesday evening at age 92. Deng's family asked that his ashes be scattered at sea, after a memorial tomorrow attended by 10,000 people. A casket containing Deng's ashes will be covered by the red Communist flag for the memorial, which marks the last day of a six-day mourning period.

Deng's chosen successor, Communist Party Secretary and President Jiang Zemin, is likely to welcome Albright's visit as a chance to highlight international recognition for his leadership.

Albright has compressed all her meetings into one day so she can

leave before tomorrow's memorial. No foreigners were invited because Deng, who retired in 1990, was officially a private citizen with no higher title than "comrade." Hong Kong's *Sunday Morning Post* said political infighting that some expect to sharpen with Deng's death has begun. The newspaper said Communist hard-liners were circulating a 20,000-word criticism of Deng's policies, in defiance of Jiang's orders.

The report clashed with the picture of unity given by the official

media, which reported Communist Party officials and military leaders - including veterans who fought beside Deng - rallying around Jiang as the "core" of the post-Deng leadership.

Premier Li Peng and the head of the legislature Qiao Guh - both possible rivals to Jiang - have echoed pledges Jiang made to carry on Deng's reforms.

Jiang has been quick to claim Deng's mantle. He heads a funeral committee for Deng and will give the memorial speech tomorrow.

## Investigators hunt Atlanta bomb links

**ATLANTA (Reuters)** - Investigators yesterday continued their search for links between a bomb that exploded at a lesbian nightclub and two other unsolved bombings that have shaken the city over the past seven months.

A police cordon sealed off streets for several blocks around The Othello Lounge as agents from the FBI, the U.S. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF), the Georgia state police and local law enforcement agencies combed through the neighborhood for pieces of shrapnel and other evidence.

Members of national FBI and ATF response teams arrived from around the country to assist in the investigation of Friday night's blast, and authorities predicted the number of federal agents on the case would reach 100 before today.

Early yesterday, police went on alert once again after an anonymous caller phoned a bomb threat into the city fire station that had responded to the nightclub bombing. A nearby hotel and dozens of businesses were evacuated. But no

bomb turned up during the ensuing search.

Officials said the attack was similar to two others in Atlanta - a January double-bombing at an abortion clinic and the deadly Centennial Olympic Park bombing last July. Those similarities led a senior FBI official to speculate that investigators could be dealing with a serial bomber.

"The bombings have not been categorically tied together yet. Of course, the last bombing was aimed at an abortion clinic. It's a possibility that this one was motivated by hate," said FBI spokesman Jay Spadafore.

The nightclub bomb, apparently packed with nails, went off in the rear patio section of the lounge in northeast Atlanta shortly before 10 p.m. Staff said the club, one of Atlanta's few predominantly lesbian bars, was about half full at the time.

Police found a second bomb in a backpack hidden among some bushes in an adjacent parking lot and detonated the device with a remote-control robot.

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**Thursday April 24 IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF THE SANHEDRIN**  
The Bar-Kochba Revolt failed. 600,000 Jews died. Jerusalem was destroyed. Jews were sold as slaves, and *Tora* study came to an end. But a new center arose in the Galilee, and the towns of Zippori and Tiberias became famous. We'll visit them, as well as Beit Shearim, the burial place of Rabbi Yehuda Hanasi and his family.  
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Prime Time

The Communist Dynasty Had Its Run. Now What?



Deng Xiaoping, who died last week, was in declining health last summer when China Central Television broadcast a 12-part documentary about his life, the first episode of which was on view at a Beijing shopping center.

By NICHOLAS D. KRISTOF

WHEN Deng Xiaoping visited the United States in 1979, the actress Shirley MacLaine told him how impressed she had been on a visit to China during the Cultural Revolution, when Mr. Deng and countless others had been forced to toil in remote areas and "learn from the peasants." The actress said she had been particularly moved by a scholar working in a field, who had described how much more fulfilling it was to grow tomatoes than to work in a university.

Mr. Deng looked at her and said: "He lied." It was Mr. Deng's genius to cut through the propaganda and chimeras of Maoism, and thereby save Communism in China. His 18-year reign as Chinese Emperor was one of the greatest since the legendary Yellow Emperor who supposedly helped found the nation thousands of years ago, and he rescued the Communist Dynasty when it was tottering after Mao's death. But his own departure again leaves the dynasty in fragile shape.

The Communist Dynasty, founded by Mao in 1949, has today largely lost the "mandate of heaven" — the moral authority and popular support or acquiescence — that gives it legitimacy and enables it to rule. So China may now be approaching a transition not only of emperors but also of dynasties.

Possibilities Open

This does not mean that anything much will happen immediately or even in the next few years. Still, Mr. Deng's death has created a tremendous range of possibilities, from a military coup at one extreme to evolution toward quasi-democracy on the other. So long as his heart beat, China was vaguely predictable, but now all kinds of things become conceivable.

One measure of the frailty of the Communist Dynasty is that the name already is a bit of a misnomer, for China is not a Communist country in any meaningful sense. It is run by a Communist Party, but the principles governing China are not Marxist-Leninist but Market-Leninist. In other words, China is a marriage of a market economy and Leninist dictatorial principles.

China's Communists today care not about Communism but about power. The bottom line is: We'll stay in power, and everything else is negotiable. There may be more Marxists in New York than in Beijing. "By the end of his life, he saw clearly that it wasn't working," the widow of one of China's top leaders once confided. "But what could he do? Of course he couldn't admit it to anyone but me."

Mr. Deng's own youngest son, Deng Zhifang, demonstrates the path that the best and brightest are taking. An American-trained engineer, he worked for a state-owned company in the 1980's, answering his own telephone and

riding a bicycle to work each day. Now he is a property magnate and international businessman based in China worth tens of millions of dollars. He makes decisions in the same way as any Hong Kong tycoon.

Deng Xiaoping effectively transformed China from an ultra-leftist country to an ultra-rightist country, and today the Communist Dynasty governs not by socialism but by something close to a dictionary definition of fascism. China's underlying dynamic, with its combination of vibrant free enterprise, state-owned companies and authoritarian political system, has little in common with Maoism but has great parallels with Franco's Spain or Park Chung Hee's South Korea or Pinochet's Chile.

This arrangement has given China tremendous vitality, but it has not done much for the longevity of the political system, and Mr. Deng's China may some day be remembered the way the world now looks back on

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Second Thoughts About Being Better Off

The Rehabilitation of Morning in America

By LOUIS UCHTELLE

NOTHING has so defined the American mood over the last 20 years as economic pessimism. From nearly every quarter came the message that prosperity was in decline and young people would have to adjust to a lower standard of living than their parents'. But now, all of a sudden, the last couple of decades don't look so bad. Recent economic history is being revised: And in the new version, Americans turn out to have been more prosperous than they realized. The children can relax.

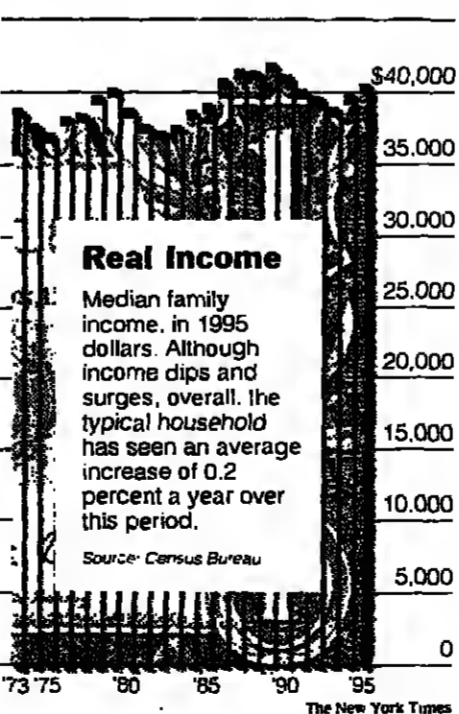
The revisionists are multiplying. They appear in the Clinton Administration, in the pronouncements of Joseph E. Stiglitz, the President's just-departed chief economist. They are evident in Congress, in the optimism of Senators Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a liberal Democrat, and Connie Mack, a conservative Republican. They show up on Wall Street, in the bullishness of Felix G. Rohatyn, the investment banker, and in corporate America, in the boosterism of Jerry J. Jasinowski, president of the National Association of Manufacturers. And they

appear among academics who study and pronounce on the American condition. From all of them, the new message, though never uniform, is roughly this:

The world's juggernaut economy has turned out to be America's, not Japan's or Germany's. Those nations went down the wrong road, while Americans — bemoaning their situation every step of the way — nevertheless remade their corporations into streamlined global competitors. What's more, living standards, instead of stagnating or deteriorating, rose in ways that are only now being noted. And Americans developed technology with an inventiveness and flexibility not recognized before.

"We never realized how much we did in the 1980's to restructure American business and capitalize on new technology," said Mr. Rohatyn, who is managing partner at Lazard Freres & Company.

Like Mr. Rohatyn, the revisionists are mainly the well-off and successful. Their views, reflecting their own good fortune, flourish because the present looks good. The nation is six years into an economic expansion, unemployment is low and median family incomes have begun to rise, just as they did at this point in the 1980's expansion.



But in the seventh year of that expansion, 1990, a recession came that soon made most Americans even more pessimistic. That could happen again, deflating the revisionists' line.

For now, there is no talk of the next recession, although one is inevitable. Certainly there is no such talk from the Democrats, who had played a big role in rekindling the pessimism of the early 1990's. After four years in the White House, they have a stake now in the economy's achievements. Mr. Stiglitz, chief author of the 1997 Economic Report of the President, points, for example, to the "promising statistics" suggesting that income inequality, after 20 years, might finally be reversing.

Thanks, Japan

The new economic thinking also gets a boost from Japan and Germany, whose economies seemed so invincible in the 1980's but are caught today in downturns and, in Germany, high unemployment. For the revisionists, these reversals are inevitable results of a mistaken preference in Japan and Germany for government intervention in economic activity. By comparison, they say, America's

laissez-faire approach has finally given the United States the upper hand.

"People had written off the innovative character of American entrepreneurs and their workers, and they were wrong," Mr. Jasinowski said. "They had emphasized our troubles, the slower economic growth, the downsizing, the uneven distribution of income. These are real issues, but they had gotten out of proportion to the industrial renaissance that has been taking place."

Even the millions who suffer from these real issues appear to be helping re-establish what Mr. Jasinowski considers the right proportions. Expectations have diminished, said Richard T. Curtin, a director of the University of Michigan's Survey Research Center. What Americans accept today as a step up in living standards would have been scorned as piddling 25 years ago.

"It is a little like people are saying, 'I am not earning enough to get by, but it is not as bad as it could be,' while in the 60's they thought, 'How good can it get?'" Mr. Curtin said. "When you make that downward change in your standard of judgment, that makes a great deal of difference in the

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Mobile Homes Move Up

Here comes the neighborhood.

By Kevin Sack

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He's Baaack

But new ethics probes may outlast Starr.

By Stephen Labaton

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Numbers Don't Fly

What counts in halting an airline strike.

By Adam Bryant

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to roos

losers

POSTSCRIPT

# The Nation

## Mobile Homes Go Upscale: One Pet Per Plot, Please

By KEVIN SACK

**A**PARENTLY James Carville has never been to Hunter Ridge. Back in December, when the political strategist was making a full-time job of defending President Clinton's ethics, Mr. Carville explained away Paula Corbin Jones's sexual harassment charges against Mr. Clinton by saying: "Drag a hundred dollars through a trailer park and there's no telling what you'll find."

But at Hunter Ridge, a 10-year-old "manufactured home community" south of Atlanta, a single C-note might not get much attention. Residents are too busy swatting forehands on the lighted tennis courts, swimming laps in the pool, planning parties for the clubhouse and casting a line into the stocked fishing pond.

While the social stigma associated with mobile home living may persist, the true face of the industry is changing radically and rapidly. As baby boomers head for retirement, as disposable income tightens and as real estate becomes a less reliable investment, the country has seen remarkable growth in the number and wealth of people living in mobile homes.

### Growing Like Weeds

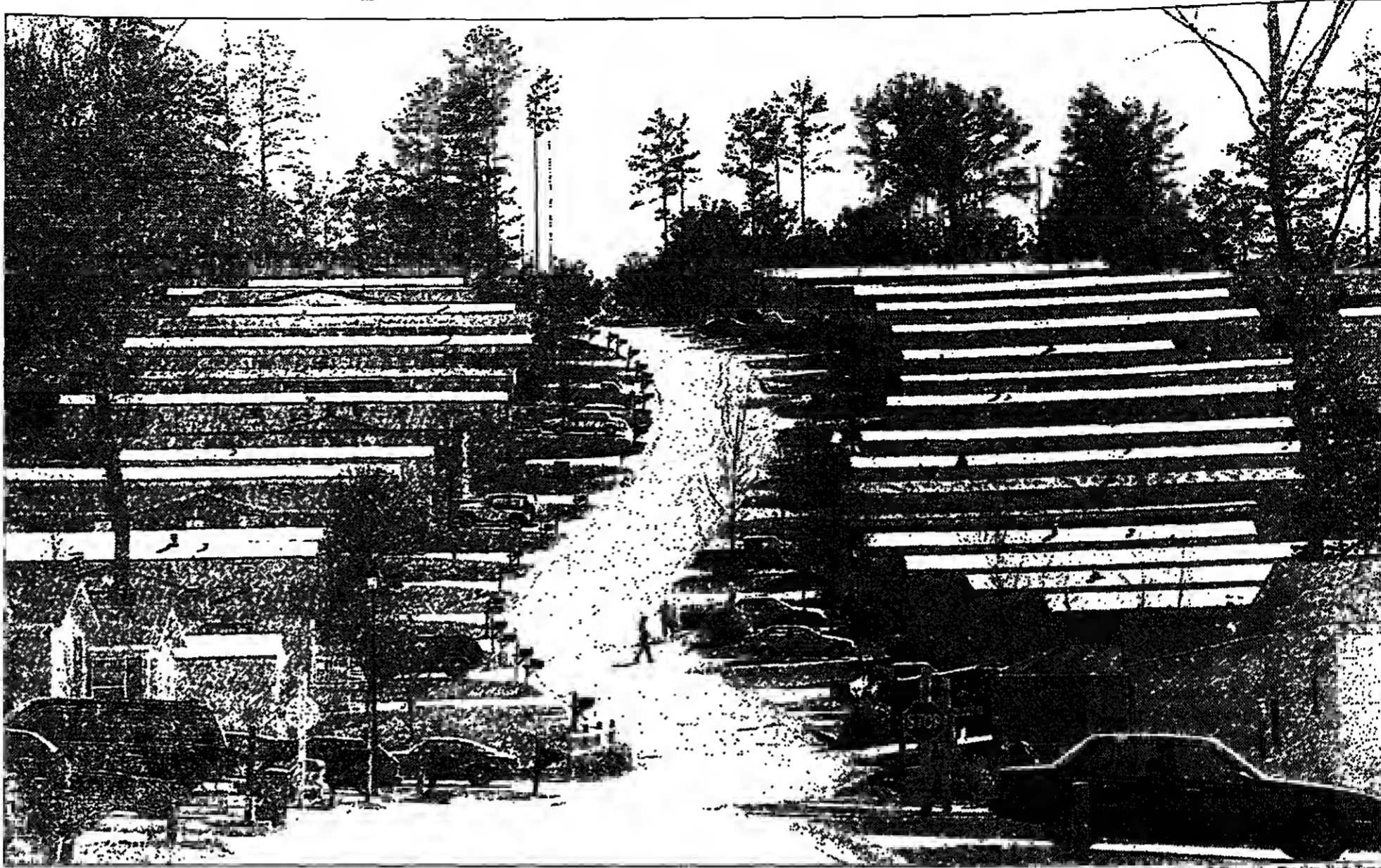
The Census Bureau reported a 37 percent increase in the number of mobile homes between the censuses in 1980 and 1990, more than quadruple the growth rate for single-family houses and multi-unit structures. The country's 7.3 million mobile homes in 1990 represented 7 percent of all housing, up from 5 percent a decade earlier. Industry officials believe a wording change in the 1990 census accounts for some of the change, but they still maintain that the increase approached 50 percent.

Much of the growth has been here in the South, which had 52 percent of the nation's mobile homes in 1990, according to the census. At that time, Florida had more mobile homes than any other state, and five other Southern states — Texas, North Carolina, Georgia, South Carolina and Alabama — all ranked in the top 10.

Chris D. Busky, director of administration and information services for the Manufactured Housing Institute, a national trade association, said that mobile homes represented 61 percent of all new housing in Mississippi in 1996. The figure was 58 percent in Alabama, 38 percent in North Carolina and 26 percent in Georgia.

The demographics of mobile home ownership also have changed. Most residents still have below-average incomes, and many are recent immigrants. But the Foremost Insurance Company, a provider of insurance for mobile homes, estimates that 15 percent of mobile-home households had annual incomes of more than \$40,000 a year in 1993, up from 2 percent in 1981 and 10 percent in 1990. And there has been an increase in the percentage of mobile home dwellers with college educations.

"Typically it was thought of as a blue-



At the Hunter Ridge "manufactured home community" south of Atlanta, the mobile homes are in muted colors and rules dictate how high the residents may let their grass grow.

collar factory worker buying manufactured homes," Mr. Busky said. "Now it's professional couples with families. People can't afford \$150,000 homes anymore, and consumers would rather spend their money on other things."

As the demand for mobile homes rises, developers are building sprawling parks like Hunter Ridge that look like upscale apartment complexes. At Hunter Ridge, where all the homes are in muted colors like white, gray and tan, restrictive covenants dictate that residents are limited to one pet per lot, that motor vehicles cannot be repaired within the community, and that lawns must be mowed weekly during growing season (no less than three inches from ground level).

The amenities and regulations seem to influence the way that residents think about themselves. "I would never live in a trailer park," said John W. Guiton, a 45-year-old trucker who was fishing one recent day at

Hunter Ridge with his 8-year-old son, Chris, and their talkative parrot, Charlie. "This is a mobile home community. I've got my own mailbox, and there are no speed bumps."

### Neat as a Pin

Mr. Guiton lived in a house until losing it in a divorce. He said he could afford to buy a house now but prefers to live in his \$22,000 double-wide on a lot that he rents for \$215 a month. "It's just a lot simpler," he said. "I don't want a big mortgage to pay off. If I want some land I can always move my mobile home. And they keep it pretty quiet here. They're pretty fussy."

Bartow Fisk, a 70-year-old widower, moved to a \$15,000, 14- by 50-foot mobile home in Hunter Ridge about seven years ago from a house in nearby Riverdale. "The yard was just getting to be too much damn work," he explained. "This is reasonably inexpen-

sive living. I like my neighbors, and in this particular manufactured housing area they do a good job of enforcing their ground rules." As for those who denigrate mobile home dwellers: "To heck with them."

The industry has taken steps to enhance its image, starting with the terminology. "Instead of 'mobile homes,' it's 'manufactured homes,'" said Donata J. Blanks, manager of Jonesboro's Tara Manufactured Home Community, which had been Tara Mobile Home Park until Ms. Blanks took over last year. "Sales lots are now 'retail centers.' 'Double-wides' are 'multi-section units.' We're trying to get away from the 'trailer park,' 'trailer trash,' that kind of thing."

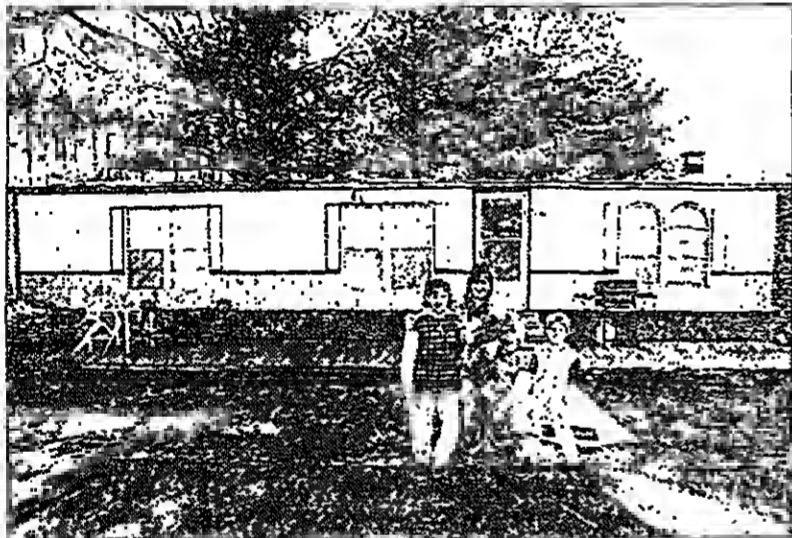
At Hunter Ridge, Wallace G. Gibson, the general manager, cannot clear trees from the red clay fast enough. Since the development opened in 1987, it has cleared lots in six phases — first 126 lots, then another 164, then 49, then 75, then 102. Now the bulldozers are

making way for another 115.

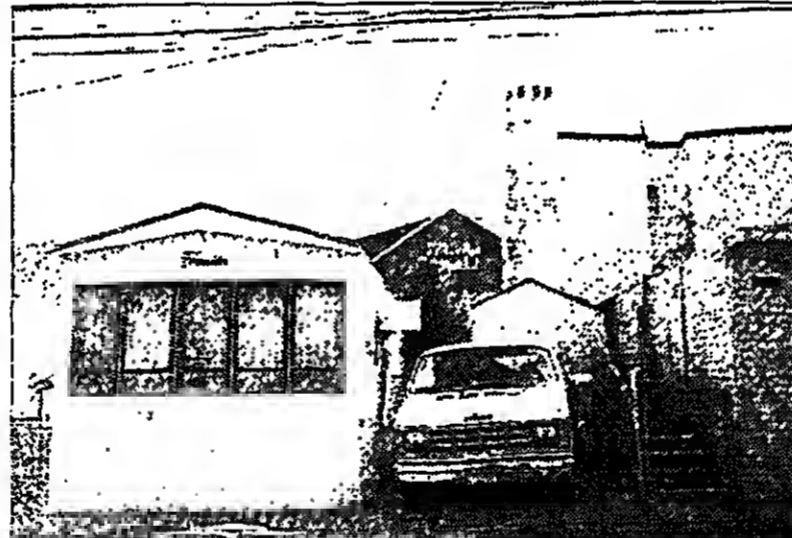
And newer mobile homes have become safer. Their image was never helped when they blew apart or washed away in a natural disaster. But after Hurricane Andrew caused widespread destruction in Florida, the Federal Government imposed new construction standards in 1994 to make mobile home walls, roofs, windows and doors sturdier.

"The quality of the homes has improved as well," Mr. Gibson said. "They just have all the amenities you would find in a large conventional home with Jacuzzi tubs, skylights, vaulted ceilings, ceramic tile, intercom systems."

"There was a stigma about manufactured homes when they were called trailers and mobile homes. People didn't want to say that's where they lived. But if you give them all these amenities, it's like living in \$200,000 and \$300,000 subdivisions."



Tara Manufactured Home Community, near Hunter Ridge in Jonesboro, Ga., has been Bonnie A. Hunt's home for 12 years. More crowded lots, center and right, are at the Manhattan Trailer Court in North Bergen, N.J.



Manhattan Trailer Court in North Bergen, N.J.



Manhattan Trailer Court in North Bergen, N.J.

## Regardless of Counsel, Clinton's Woes Go On

By STEPHEN LABATON

**A**S Kenneth W. Starr wavered between the Whitewater independent counsel's office and a university campus in Malibu last week, a new scandal was emerging that has compelled even some Democrats to call for yet another special prosecutor.

Early in the week, White House aides could barely contain their elation over the announcement that Mr. Starr would leave in August to become a dean at Pepperdine University. Why would he leave if President Clinton or his wife were about to be charged? By Friday, reeling under criticism that he was abandoning an uncompleted investigation, Mr. Starr agreed to stay on indefinitely.

Regardless of the future of the Whitewater investigation, revelations about fund-raising improprieties by the Democratic Party and the White House have become virtually a daily occurrence. Last week some Democrats contemplated the need for a special prosecutor to look into questionable campaign financing. Since Mr. Clinton became Presi-

dent, fully four independent counsels have been appointed to investigate him and his cabinet.

"Citizens are apprehensive and very suspicious," said Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York, who on Thursday became the first Democrat in the Senate to call for an independent counsel to investigate campaign fund-raising. "They feel they will get answers from an independent counsel that they wouldn't get from others."

Even without an independent counsel, new information and issues are piling up daily, and the White House and the President's advisers face many months of other investigations into party fund-raising.

Just three days before the startling announcement of Mr. Starr's resignation — an announcement he just as startlingly reversed by Friday — the White House released documents showing that foreign policy advisers to Mr. Clinton and Vice President Al Gore had repeatedly issued warnings against maintaining ties and granting access to several Asian-American fund-raisers and donors seeking influence.

Since then, the Justice Department and Congressional investiga-

tions have begun to focus on whether Democratic Party fund-raisers were used by the Chinese Government to make secret donations.

The Office of Special Counsel, a Federal agency that monitors whether Government officials improperly crossed the legal line that is supposed to keep them out of fund-raising and other political activities, has

announced that it is examining a number of current and former top Clinton aides to determine whether they violated the law. Among them are former deputy chief of staff Harold M. Ickes and Alexis M. Herman, whose nomination as Labor Secretary has stalled because of her office's role in setting up the White House coffees in which Mr. Clinton

entertained, among others, a twice-convicted felon with ties to organized crime, and the head of one of China's major arms-trading companies.

And by week's end, the Democratic National Committee acknowledged that it would be returning many more donations from Asian-American sources after an internal audit was unable to verify the money's origins.

Also last week, prosecutors moved to delay the sentencing of James B. McDougal. Since his conviction, Mr. Clinton's former business partner is said to have changed his testimony and now maintains that as Governor, Mr. Clinton participated in an effort to obtain an illegal \$300,000 Federally backed loan, \$50,000 of which paid for expenses in the Whitewater Development venture.

Mr. Clinton testified at Mr. McDougal's trial that he never knew anything about the loan, which was issued by David Hale, who ran a Federally backed investment company, to Susan McDougal, Mr. McDougal's wife at the time.

Together, Mr. Hale and Mr. McDougal have been convicted of 20 felony counts.

Throughout the savings-and-loan

crisis, aggressive prosecutors have used people like Mr. Hale and Mr. McDougal to get convictions. But prosecutors also acknowledge that in the case of the President or his wife, the standard of proof is higher, and that the testimony of two felons alone would not be enough to meet it.

Mr. Starr and his aides dismissed the notion that his announced departure had anything to do with the status of the investigation, which they said had reached a "sensitive stage."

But some friends also describe Mr. Starr as being frustrated that the inquiry has been set back by witnesses like Mrs. McDougal, who has refused to cooperate and provide information essential to determining whether the Clintons have testified truthfully.

After two and a half years at the helm, Mr. Starr has won more than a dozen convictions ranging from obscure Arkansas businessmen to Webster L. Hubbell, once one of the most powerful officials at the Justice Department. Some who survived those investigations are now re-hiring defense lawyers as they prepare for the new wave of inquiries into the 1996 campaign.



Kenneth W. Starr at a news conference last Wednesday.

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An American Airlines pilot returned to work at the Dallas-Fort Worth International Airport on Feb. 15 after President Clinton stopped the pilots' strike with a 60-day "cooling off" period.

## Ideas & Trends

# Maybe a Strike Wouldn't Have Cost That Much

By ADAM BRYANT

**P**ERHAPS it was a political no-brainer for President Clinton to intervene last week and halt the pilots' strike at American Airlines.

As George Stephanopoulos, a former senior White House adviser, explained on "Nightline" just before the pilots' strike deadline, "Despite all the high-falutin theory about getting involved in labor and management disputes, when all of the people in the country who are inconvenienced by this can say, 'The President could have prevented it and he didn't,' I don't think that's a price he wants to pay."

But some of those highfalutin theories deserve a second look.

Mr. Clinton said he based his decision on economics, arguing that the potential damage of the strike met the test of the 1926 Railway Labor Act: that a labor dispute "threatens substantially to interrupt interstate commerce to a degree such as to deprive any section of the country of essential transportation service."

This was no small decision. Lyndon Johnson was the last President to use the powers of the act, when machinists struck several airlines in 1966.

Invoking the act will inevitably alter the rhythms of labor negotiations at other major airlines in coming years.

But those concerns were apparently outweighed by the potential impact of a strike: according to a widely quoted study by the United States Department of Transportation, a walkout by the pilots at American would have cost the economy up to \$200 million a day, and possibly stranded 43,000 travelers.

Where did these numbers come from? Before the strike deadline, the department gave the total figures to the public but not the math that produced the totals. The

agency said that its economic assumptions were intended only for Federal mediators and the President.

But the report, which was obtained by The New York Times, shows that some of the Government's totals are as shaky as a fold-down tray on a commuter plane.

### Funny Numbers

For example, the estimate of 43,000 stranded passengers "does not reflect at least three significant factors that could mitigate the impact," the report says. Other airlines might add service in places like Miami and Dallas where American is dominant; many passengers might postpone or cancel their travel plans; and many travelers might switch their tickets to other airlines in anticipation of a strike.

So given the certainty that all these things would occur or had already happened, why was the publicized total so high?

For all the potential ripple effect of a strike — particularly in the Caribbean, where American is the dominant carrier — the \$200 million figure also seems high.

Consider that American Airlines' own doomsday study, intended to persuade the White House to intervene, estimated that the economic impact — touching everyone from proprietors of a dry cleaner in suburban Dallas to Chilean salmon producers to waitresses in Jamaica — would be \$83 million a day.

And for context, consider that \$200 million represents the daily total of passenger revenues of the entire United States airline industry (American's market share is about 26 percent).

The Government's calculations even included the potential loss to shareholders of AMR Corporation, American's parent, who might not get a dividend this

quarter in the event of a strike. Not that anyone was expecting a payout in the first place — shareholders have not seen a dividend from the company since 1980.

"The true economic loss to society is much too small to provide an explanation for Clinton's intervention," said Clifford Winston, an economist at the Brookings Institution who has written extensively about the airline industry. "It's ridiculous."

Perhaps the Transportation Department heard so

The Government's official estimate was \$200 million a day. But more than money was at stake.

few challenges to its estimates of dollars lost and passengers stranded because its figures felt right, considering the outsized attention and interest the airline industry generates.

The airline business has become a kind of national spectator sport: roughly nine major teams with distinctive uniforms and personalities that often reflect the forceful characters of their head coaches, like Robert L. Crandall, the chief executive at American.

Few businesses can offer the kind of entertaining highlight film like that of the pilots' strike chairman, Matthew Field, on CNN announcing Operation Fire at Will: "What I do now, I do without reservation or hesitation. What I do now is for the pilots of American

Airlines and their families. What I do now is for all professional aviators."

And the crowd cheers when fares go on sale. Then, like true New York sports fans, travelers immediately start grumbling — there's no real deal here, it's impossible to get through to book a flight.

This is an industry that all Americans think they understand, so they can play armchair quarterback on what's wrong with it and how to fix it.

"Once you've been a passenger, you've been knighted as a pundit," said David A. Swierenga, chief economist at the Air Transport Association, the major airlines' trade group.

Mr. Clinton has not flown on a commercial flight for some time, but he too knows something about voters' interest in the airline industry. He scored several political points in 1993, for example, by nudging American and its flight attendants to settle their dispute and get thousands of travelers home for Thanksgiving.

### Clinton's Calculation

He also learned an important lesson earlier that year, after he parked Air Force One on the tarmac at Los Angeles International Airport to get his hair trimmed. Although airport records later showed that not a single flight was delayed, it was widely reported at the time that several airplanes were held up as his stylist combed and clipped, turning Mr. Clinton's haircut into a public relations buzzcut.

Since then, the President has made a big effort to improve his image and his poll numbers. So even if the Transportation Department's math isn't solid, Mr. Clinton's calculations are: 9,300 American Airlines pilots versus thousands of stranded passengers and millions of armchair quarterbacks. No contest.

### Out of Sight . . .

## Giving Terror the Silent Treatment

By ELAINE SCIOLINO

**D**O terrorists lose the power to terrorize when they fade from public view?

By definition, terrorists manipulate the public, usually with acts of outrage. So it stands to reason that they seek a high public profile. Italy's Red Brigades, for example, regularly issued their ponderous communiqués on Wednesdays and Saturdays to get the maximum play in Italy's newspapers, which are fattest on Thursdays and Sundays.

Governments, on the other hand, have long struggled to deprive the terrorist of center stage. Probably the best example in a long time is that of Mousa Mohammed Abu Marzook, the wealthy Palestinian businessman whom Israel and the Americans describe as the leader of the Palestinian movement Hamas.

Having been arrested in the United States, and having now fought for a year and a half against extradition to Israel to face terror charges, Mr. Abu Marzook has suddenly decided that he can no longer bear solitary confinement in a Federal lockup in Manhattan. So last month he called the Israelis bluff and dared them to extradite him.

That created a conundrum. Mr. Abu Marzook is getting a lot less attention languishing in an American jail than he would get if he were on trial in Israel. And Israel, in the last year and a half, has begun to take a considerably different view of the threat posed by Mr. Abu Marzook's associates in Hamas, who have been marginalized — at least for now — by a peace process moving forward without them.

Hamas, indeed, has been quiet ever since its terrorist bombings last March left scores of Israelis dead, and Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu doesn't want to stir up trouble with a dramatic trial of Mr. Abu Marzook. Neither does Yasir Arafat, the Palestinian leader, who has asked the United States to keep Mr. Abu Marzook away.



Mousa Mohammed Abu Marzook in a visitor room in jail.

Complicating any prosecution is the absence of hard evidence definitively linking Mr. Abu Marzook to a specific terrorist act, though he funneled huge sums of money to Hamas and ran its Politburo.

So the United States, Israel and Jordan are negotiating a deal that could allow him to take up residence in Jordan or perhaps elsewhere in exchange for his promise to stay out of politics — in other words, to keep the same low profile that seems to have made him so frustrated in New York.

President Clinton and Mr. Netanyahu are so determined to play down the importance of Mr. Abu Marzook that they claimed his status never even came up in their meeting in the Oval Office several days ago. The low-key approach is a stark contrast to the denunciations Mr. Clinton issued 11 months ago, at a 29-country anti-

terrorism summit convened in Egypt in the wake of the Hamas bombings. But perhaps all that has changed is how much attention the Israelis and Americans want to focus on Hamas. They still seem determined to cut its funding; that is why Mr. Abu Marzook was arrested in the first place. But they also now seem disposed to ignore Hamas publicly, on the theory that denouncing it gives it what it wants most: attention.

As for Mr. Netanyahu, it is hard to believe this is the man who became a fixture on American television in the 1980's with his absolutist stand on never negotiating with terrorists.

That, however, was when he was a spokesman and critic, not a leader. Now, as Prime Minister, Mr. Netanyahu does not want to risk another terrorist war by putting a Hamas leader on trial just weeks after Israel and the Palestinians finalized an agreement over the governing of Hebron.

"To some extent terrorists have the power we grant them — if we give them our attention, if our political choices are hostage to them," said the Middle East expert Fouad Ajami, of Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies. "Netanyahu doesn't want to look into the darkness again. Arafat doesn't want to be seen as the enforcer of Israel's policies. The terror trail ends not with a bang but with a whimper."

In Peru, President Alberto Fujimori also has been struggling for more than two months with how best to marginalize the Cuban-inspired guerrillas holding scores of diplomats and Peruvian officials hostage in the Japanese ambassador's mansion in Lima. He has refused to meet the guerrillas' demands to release their comrades from prison. His decision to replace the officials who are held hostage signaled everyone not to expect a quick resolution of the crisis.

But he has been willing to negotiate the guerrillas' safe passage out of Peru to a third country — if they release their hostages. It is not unlike what the Israelis are willing to give Mr. Abu Marzook.

## The Rehabilitation of Morning in America

Continued From Page 1

national outlook."

The shift in expectations began in the 1973 oil crisis, with its gas lines and new sense of vulnerability. Rising fuel prices, the severe mid-1970's recession, Japan's inroads into American markets and high inflation all contributed to what President Carter first characterized in the late 1970's as the "malaise" settling on the country.

Resisting such pessimism, Americans elected Ronald Reagan, with his morning-in-America message. But the onslaught continued. The 1981-82 recession was the worst downturn since the Depression. Heavy manufacturing was devastated, the layoffs massive. The air traffic controllers' strike marked an accelerating deterioration of union bargaining power. Mergers and downsizing made job insecurity commonplace. And wage inequality became, in the 1980's, a national characteristic as the less skilled, less educated lost ground to the college trained. Even the skilled often found themselves falling behind sometimes.

### Redistribution

"We have redistributed an incredible amount of income and wealth without managing to raise the living standards of most Americans," said Lawrence Mishel, an economist at the Economic Policy Institute.

Without challenging that statement, Robert M. Solow, the Nobel laureate in economics, said that the American economy has turned out to be the best in the industrial world and that has offered breathing space to solve the nation's problems. "There is plenty of trouble at the bottom," he said, "but you don't have to worry about the Titanic going down. There isn't an iceberg. You have plenty of time to fix the deck chairs."

If they are very broken. Neither Mr. Mack nor Mr. Moynihan, leaders in Congress on economic issues, thinks they are. For Mr. Mack, the 1980's were years of robust economic growth, unrecognized by the Democrats until now. And for Mr. Moynihan, the groundwork laid in the 1980's and 1990's is paying off. "There is a reward for good behavior," he said, "but perceptions lag. It takes time for a culture that was deeply pessimistic about the future and deeply anxious about the present during the cold war to come out of that."

The main misperceptions, in the eyes of the revisionists, involve productivity and wages. Steady improvements in productivity, or output per worker, are essential for

robust economic growth. The Government's productivity statistics, however, say the improvement has been anemic — a finding most economists endorse and most revisionists reject. How can the data be accurate, says Mr. Jasinowski, when corporate America is performing so well? "It is hard to find an industry," he said, "where we are not equal to or better than our competitors."

The other misperception involves wages and salaries. By most measures — family income and hourly earnings, for example — they stopped rising in the early 1970's, except for brief spurts upward in the late 1980's and again very recently. But measuring incomes involves measuring inflation. Stagnant wages in the national statistics mean wages have failed to rise faster than inflation. A 3 percent raise today comes out zero, once statisticians subtract the current annual inflation rate of 3 percent, according to the Consumer Price Index. But inflation is overstated, many revisionists insist, and as Exhibit A they cite the recent report of a commission of economists appointed by the Senate Finance Committee, mostly at Mr. Moynihan's instigation.

The commission concluded that the C.P.I. has been overstating inflation by 1.1 percentage points — that the real annual inflation rate today, for example, is not 3 percent but 1.9 percent, which means the 3 percent raise represents not stagnation but a 1.1 percent increase, and since 1973 such gains have gone unrecorded. Accepting that conclusion means accepting a more subjective standard of measuring the cost of living.

### Better Every Day

What the statistics fail to reflect sufficiently are quality improvements, the commission concluded. An automaker adds \$50 to a car's price to cover the cost of a better anti-rust paint. That extra cost should not have counted as a rise in the inflation rate, or at least not as much of a rise as the Bureau of Labor Statistics calculates when it totes up the Consumer Price Index. Indeed, Americans for 20 years have been enjoying better cars, better medical care, fancier houses and more powerful computers, never realizing, the revisionists argue, that their living standards were rising.

But that raises the income inequality problem again, says Joel Popkin, a former chief of the bureau's C.P.I. division. "We have to consider," he said, "that, while the quality of goods and services may be rising, this new living standard is beyond the reach of an increasing proportion of Americans."

# The World

## The Communist Dynasty Had Its Run. Now What?

Continued From Page 1

Franco's Spain. The problem is that Market-Leninism seems to be an inherently unstable concept, for the market eats away at the Leninism.

It may seem odd to speak of China's leaders today as emperors, but that historical lens is probably the most useful in explaining their behavior. China's Communists initially rebelled against history, but they soon fell into traditional patterns, and Mr. Deng's role could not possibly be explained by his formal positions. At their peak he was Deputy Prime Minister, and for the last seven years he held no title loftier than Honorary Chairman of the China Bridge Association. In fact, of course, he was Emperor, and it was a title he could not have given up had he wanted to.

Throughout history, Chinese have noted a "dynastic cycle." The first emperor is a strong-willed general or peasant rebel who seizes power and imposes far-reaching changes, but he is followed by rulers who are steadily weaker. The dynasty's moral authority sags under the burden of taxes, corruption and ineptitude, and a new leader emerges to found a new dynasty.

### A 'Melon-Head'

Mao was a classic dynastic founder, and Mr. Deng was a strong ruler too. But Jiang Zemin, the stocky, bespectacled and totally uncharismatic "weather vane" whom Mr. Deng picked in 1989 to be the next emperor, is almost immediately recognizable as the kind of emperor who belongs at the tail end of a dynastic cycle — if he becomes any kind of emperor at all.

Prime Minister Li Peng is even less the type to inspire the Mandate of Heaven. Intensely unpopular and widely ridiculed for his authoritarian and awkward style, denounced even by his mother, he is a lightning-rod for jokes about the regime. In one, a worker is arrested for shouting "Li Peng is a melon-head" and is sentenced to 20 years in prison — 5 for counter-revolutionary crimes and 15 for revealing state secrets.

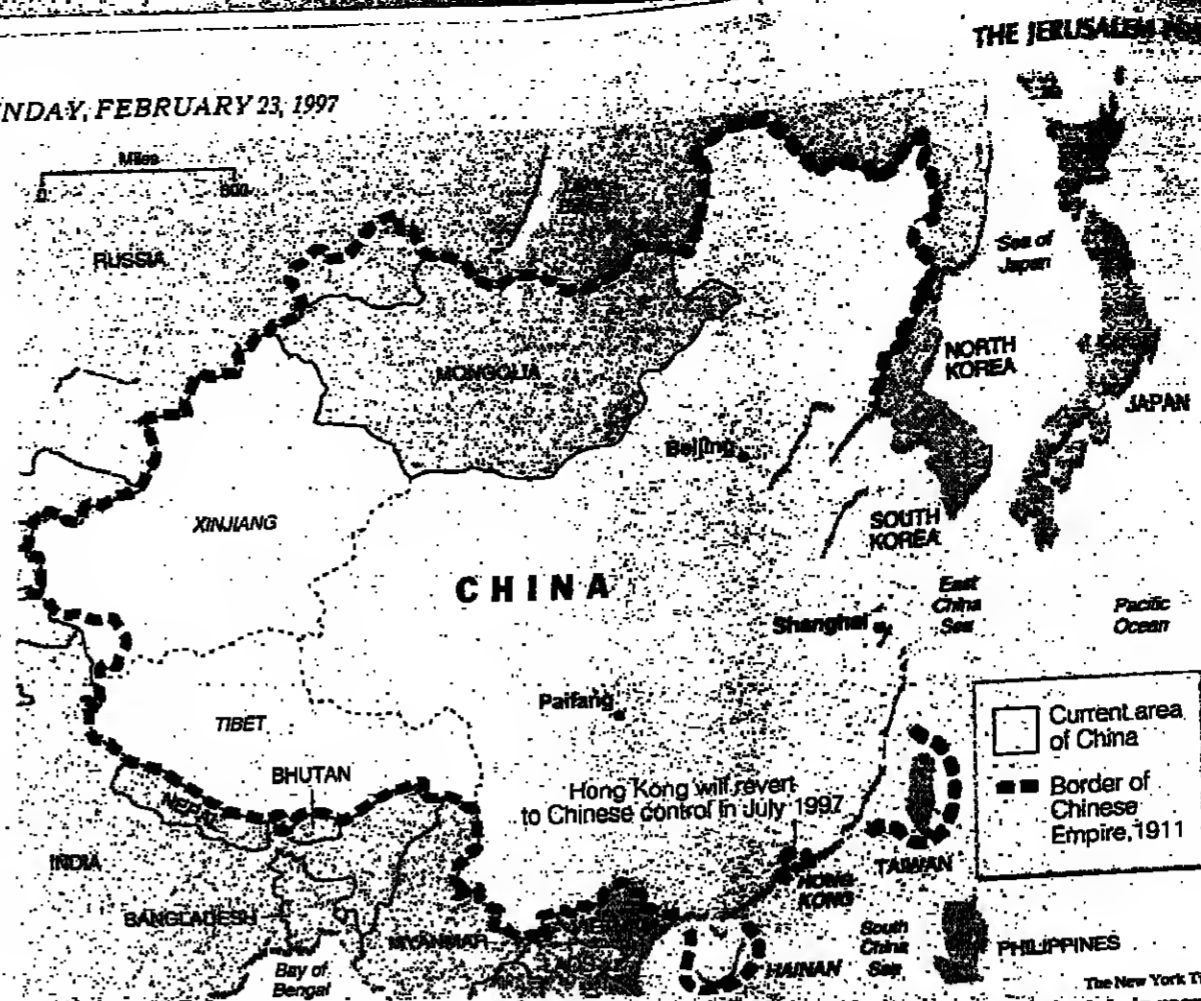
Mao was an avid reader of history and was acutely aware of the problem of the dynastic cycle. In July 1946, when he was still a gaunt guerrilla leader, he was visited by Huang Yanpei, a prominent scholar, who noted: "Dynasties begin with a surge of vigor, and then decay and disintegrate. Has the Communist Party found a way to break this vicious cycle?" Mao beamed: "We've found a way. It's called democracy."

Perhaps that would have worked, but Mao and Mr. Deng both refused to try real democracy (and, of course, Mao meant proletarian democracy rather than any kind of Western approach). It is a great pity, because in China the Communist Party was unusually compatible with democracy, for the simple reason that the party was much more popular with ordinary people than in most Communist countries. In Poland, the party would have lost a plebiscite. But in China, the Communist Party could have counted on the peasantry and perhaps won a free multi-party election. Even today, it perhaps could.

Mr. Deng had broad legitimacy, especially in the early 1980's, because of his decades organizing the Communist revolution and his later years freeing the economy. But Mr. Jiang lacks that kind of legitimacy, and there is no legitimating institution or mechanism, such as elections, to grant him that authority.

Among the greatest burdens for the Communist Dynasty in sustaining its legitimacy is the still-reverberating memory of the Tiananmen killings of 1989. It is a bit odd that the Communists should have caused the deaths of some 30 million peasants in the late 1950's and early 1960's, in a great Mao-made famine, and yet the killing of several hundred students should be a greater blot on the party's legitimacy. Yet one of the lessons of Chinese history is that a ruler can kill peasants to his heart's content, but tangles with students at his peril.

China's basic principles aren't Marxist-Leninist any longer. This is Market-Leninism. And the market is eating away at the Leninism.



Deng Xiaoping in 1979.

Even Mr. Deng's family members had their regrets about the Tiananmen killings, for his children told their friends that their father had nothing to do with the massacre. Few people believe that, and almost everyone expects China at some point to face the killings anew.

When Mr. Deng became Emperor, his approach was to try to evade his responsibility for the Cultural Revolution by putting the blame on the "Gang of Four" and sending them to prison. In one sense it was ludicrous to say that these four hard-liners did everything. But as a political gesture it helped distance him and the Communist Party from the Cultural Revolution. Remembering that example, some new aspiring emperor might try making Mr. Li the scapegoat for Tiananmen.

So what will the next dynasty be like? The bleakest possibility is national fragmentation, even civil war, for that has occurred periodically in Chinese history. But that also seems an extremely remote possibility. In Tibet and Xinjiang, local people may mount insurrections against Chinese rule, but that is difficult to imagine in the main part of China. The Cantonese in the south, who prospered in the Deng era, may complain all the time about the incompetent and corrupt weasels in the north, but it is almost unimaginable that they would shed their blood to break the pole.

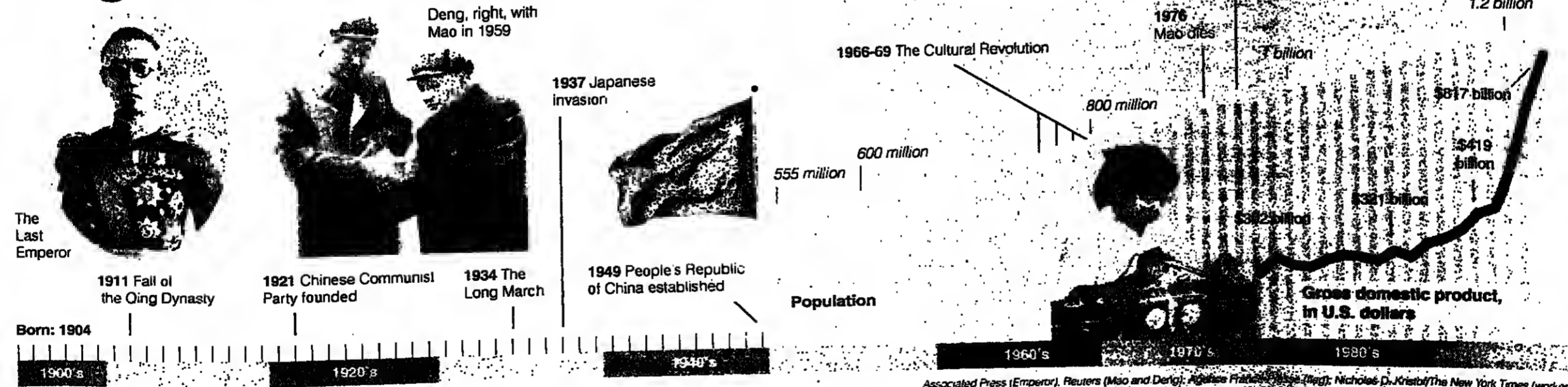
### Most Likely

Another possibility is a military coup, for with Mr. Deng's passing it is now the People's Liberation Army that holds ultimate power. Often in developing countries the passing of a powerful leader has been followed by a coup, and Mr. Jiang seems very aware of the risks.

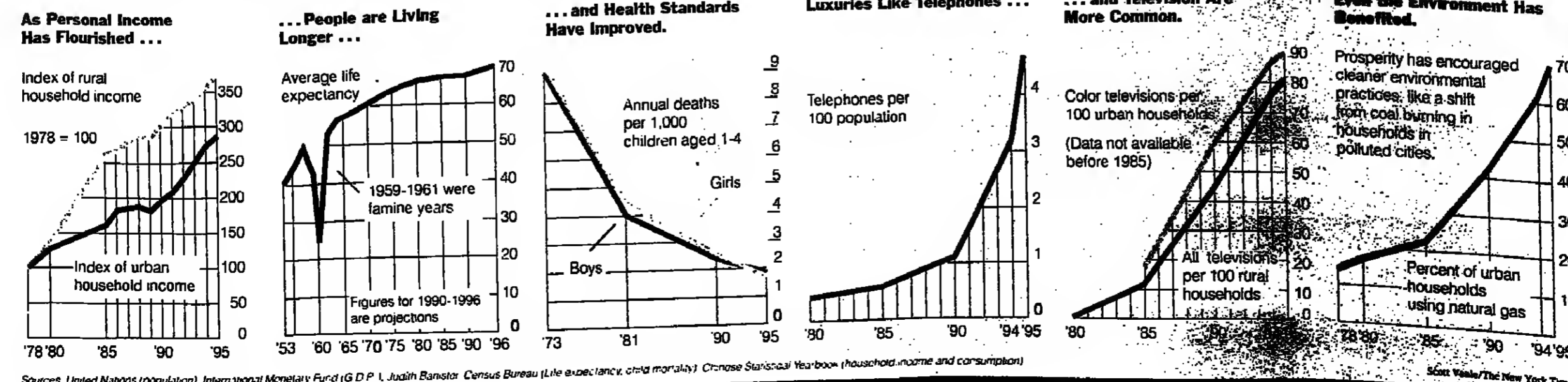
Yet another possibility, perhaps the most likely, is the kind of gradual evolution that occurred in Spain, South Korea and Chile. It may be slower yet, and there may even be new massacres ahead, but the "second revolution" that Mr. Deng instigated is creating the middle class and rising income and education levels that in other countries have been associated eventually with growing pluralism, tolerance and even democracy. China already has economic and cultural pluralism, and political pluralism may gradually emerge as well.

The dynasty most like the Communist one in Chinese history was the Qin, founded in 221 B.C. by a ruthless emperor, much like Mao. The first Qin emperor unified China, created the Great Wall, and modernized the country in hundreds of ways, yet he also burned books and buried scholars alive. His dynasty was very short, ending soon after his death, but it laid the basis for its successor, the Han Dynasty, a golden era of Chinese history. In the same way, the Communist Dynasty may be short-lived, for it has been unable to respond to the yearnings for political participation that its economic revolution engendered. Yet the Communist Dynasty has laid a framework — by unifying the country, distributing land to the peasants, emancipating women, and educating the labor force — for what could be an extraordinary dynasty at the year's ahead.

## Deng Xiaoping: Recalling an Eventful Life ...



## ... That Culminated in an Economic Revolution



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Foreign Affairs

THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

# Bread, Israel, Islam

CASABLANCA, Morocco  
Pay attention to Morocco. Pay close attention. What's going on here today is typical of a troubling chain of events that is unfolding throughout the Arab world and Turkey. It works like this: Pressure to join the global economy forces Arab governments to privatize state industries, to stop guaranteeing college grads a job and to raise bread prices. This restructuring produces huge income gaps. The losers take to the streets or drift toward Islamic fundamentalist organizations. To express their frustration, the losers denounce their government's relations with Israel, because that's the most effective and evocative way to delegitimize the regime for raising bread prices. The rulers respond by distancing themselves from Israel, but don't lower the price of bread.

Morocco is the perfect laboratory for this interaction. The Egypt-Israel peace treaty was first conceived in secret talks hosted by Morocco's King Hassan II. But lately, Moroccan-Israeli relations have cooled. Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu wanted to visit here after the Hebron deal, as his predecessor's often did, but no invitation was forthcoming because, as one Moroccan official said: "We don't want any political tourism." Although Israeli businessmen still operate openly here, Moroccan officials completely boycotted Israel's National Day celebration, at the still "unofficial" Israeli Embassy here, but they turned out en masse for Iran's.

To be sure, Israeli bombings in Lebanon last spring and the controversial Jerusalem tunnel opening last September have soured King Hassan's mood toward Israel, not to mention that of the Moroccan street.

But the story goes deeper. King Hassan, in a farsighted move, recently signed an agreement with the European Union that will make Morocco a member of the E.U. free-trade zone over 10 years. This will force Moroccan agriculture and industry to downsize and upgrade to deal with European competition. Unfortunately, Morocco has barely begun preparing for this brutal competition, because the reforms either are too painful or cut against vested interests here.

A country with only a 50 percent literacy rate, Morocco still has hundreds of villages without running water or electricity. Those state-owned enterprises that have been privatized are often controlled by the same economic elite, tied to the royal palace.

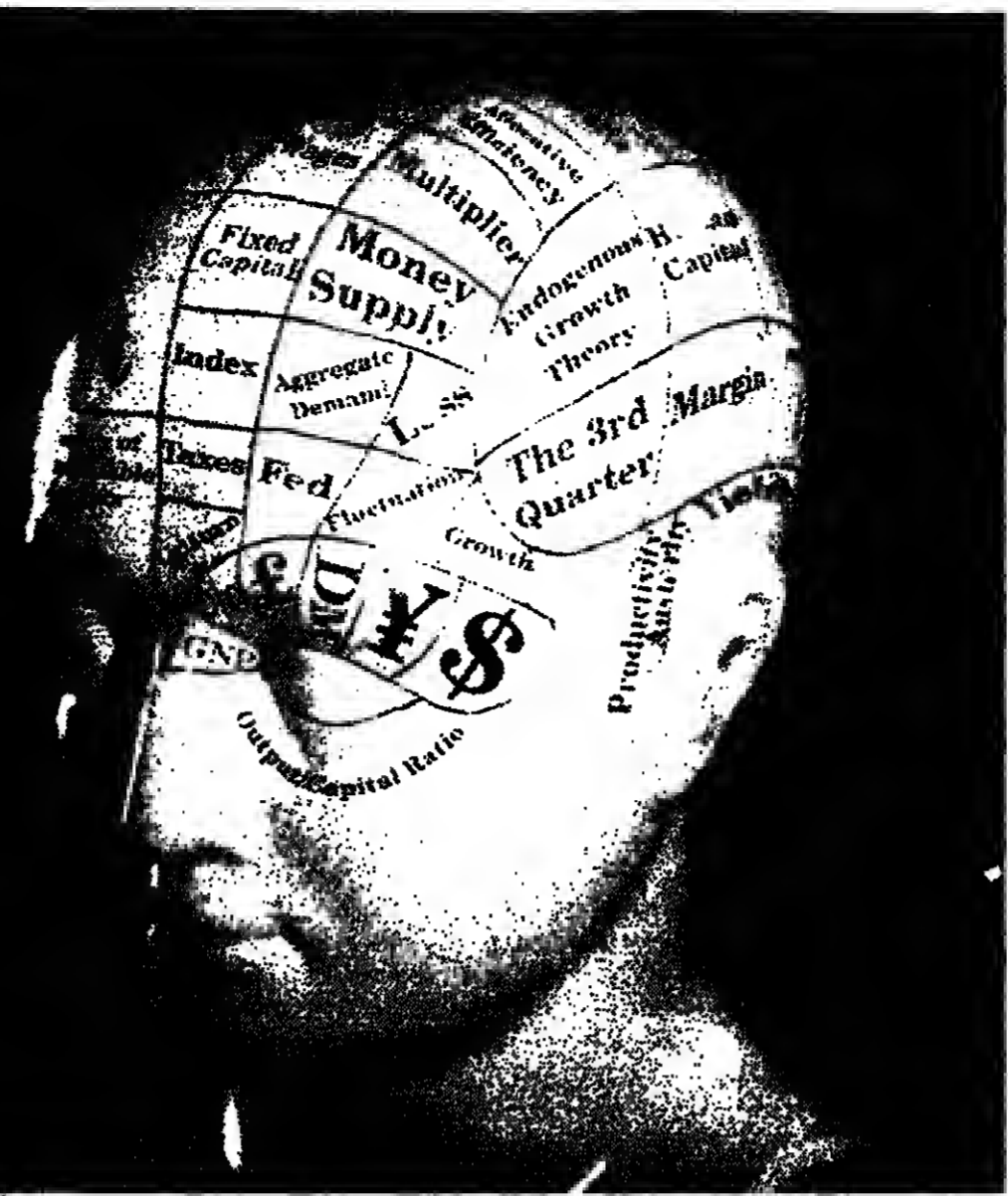
## When economics and the peace process intersect.

that dominated the state monopolies, which is why 3 percent of the population here controls 85 percent of the wealth. Morocco's universities, which uniquely combine the worst of the socialist and French education systems, each year turn out so many graduates who cannot find jobs here, have no entrepreneurial or technical skills and are wholly unprepared for today's information economy that Morocco now has a "Union of Unemployed University Graduates." With Government subsidies and services being cut, the undercurrent of economic disquiet widens.

Mohammed Anoujar, editor of the centrist al-Mithaq newspaper, remarked to me: "We are now in the phase of the ugliness of the market. People feel they have been dropped by the Government and left to fend for themselves, without any safety net." Arab regimes justified peace with Israel by saying it would lead to investment and huge dividends for Arab society, but as one Islamist here remarked to me: "So the Jews got Israel, but we never got the well-being."

Not surprisingly, Morocco's Islamist organizations, which have a strong anti-Israel bent, have taken advantage of this disquiet and are leading the social protests. Islamist-led students, protesting the lack of adequate bus service between the city and King Hassan II University, recently battled police. True, Morocco is still far from being another Algeria, but Islamists now dominate virtually all Moroccan student unions and are spreading into the labor unions and professional associations. In any free election here, they would do very well.

King Hassan cannot afford to ignore such sentiments, which is why one well-connected Israeli here misused to me: "Time is not working for us. The Arab leaders who led the peace process are getting old and fragile. They have become risk averse. The Moroccan Government is now in a contest with the Islamists. It has to be careful not to aggravate this phenomenon. It's bad enough they have to crush the Islamists with batons, they don't need to provoke them more by deepening relations with Israel. Israel and Morocco never got married. We were always just engaged. It's been a long engagement, and now I'm not sure we'll ever get married."



J. Sweetser and T. McEvoy, Photo by Sam Kazdan

# Keepers of the Dismal Faith

By Alan Ehrenhalt

## How economists outwit common sense.

**N**ot long ago, in a widely read introductory work on economics, I came upon an extended discussion of why popcorn is expensive at the movies. It turns out that economists have been debating this subject in scholarly journals for more than a quarter century.

Many of them have concluded that the common-sense explanation of the problem is wrong. Movie popcorn doesn't cost \$3 a box because the theater owner has a monopoly. It costs that much because people go to the movies in groups, and if a theater started offering cheap popcorn as a come-on, popcorn lovers would try to pull the whole group to that theater, causing dissension. Expensive popcorn is the price of leisure-time social harmony.

It's an ingenious theory, but it ignores some common-sense truths. The cost of popcorn is utterly irrelevant to anyone's decision about where to go to the movies. All that really matters is the movie being shown and the location of the theater. To factor in concession prices is to assume an all-purpose calculating mind that moviegoers simply don't possess.

What is it about economists, anyway? For the past generation or more, most of us have suspected they are a little eccentric, and much of the time they seem to agree. They have always liked to make jokes about themselves: "Your idea may be fine in practice," the senior professor sneered at his junior colleague. "But it will never work in theory." Economist jokes revolve around a couple of defining characteristics: their love of theoretical assumption and their haughty rejection of common sense.

There is nothing economists enjoy more, they will readily admit, than telling the uninitiated that the plain evidence of the senses is wrong. These days they are doing it with a particular vengeance. Ordinary Americans look at their country and note the disappearance of 40 million jobs in the past two decades and conclude that something terribly disruptive has been going on. They see that many of the nation's biggest corporations now do most of their manufacturing in third world countries, and infer that precious livelihoods are fleeing to Thailand and Sri Lanka.

The response of many economists is to insist that no such thing is happening, that for every job lost a new one is born, and thus the country does not suffer materially in the transition. (The individuals who are affected materially by this transition are rarely considered relevant.) In the past couple of months, the economic professoriate has been a familiar presence on the country's most influential Op-Ed pages, smacking down the journalists and occasional renegade economists who insist that the evidence of the senses holds some truth.

It is not my purpose to intrude on the arcana of the foreign trade debate. What interests me is the argument that the professoriate ultimately seizes upon in its effort to discredit the heretics: They aren't "real" economists. They lack credentials. Worst of all, they don't know the math.

"There are... important ideas that are crystal clear if you can stand algebra," a distinguished economist wrote in a typical diatribe a few weeks ago, "and very difficult to grasp if you don't."

Of all the ammunition an economist

Alan Ehrenhalt, executive editor of *Governing* magazine, is the author of "The Lost City: The Forgotten Virtues of Community in America."

can throw at you in an argument, the main issue is perhaps the most dispiriting. It is essentially a charge of illiteracy. And anybody who has not mastered the algebra of trade theory by middle age is probably never going to pick it up.

But even people who know very little math know something about math: It is a reasoning process based on a set of postulates, a set of assumptions. It is only as good as the assumptions it starts with. Medieval astronomers developed highly sophisticated mathematical models for tracking the path of the planets, and they got their numbers to work. The only problem was that they thought the sun revolved around the earth.

Present-day economists may know more than medieval astronomers, but they too are captives of a single overarching idea: that most people in everyday life are rational calculators of their own self-interest — that they are, in economic jargon, maximizers of utility. Given a sufficient amount of information, they will come to the logically correct decision every time.

Modern conventional economics is not just a series of calculations about trade or jobs or money. It is a theory about human behavior. And it is a theory that, to say the least, deserves more scrutiny than it normally gets.

The sociologist Alan Wolfe gave it that scrutiny in his ground-breaking book, "Whose Keeper?" Treating human beings as pure calculators of self-interest, Mr. Wolfe pointed out, ignores virtually all differences across time, space, temperament and culture. Such an approach assumes that given the right amount of information, we would make the same "rational" decision whether we were young or old, sick or well, outgoing or reclusive, alone or in a group. Most mainstream economists would shrink from defending this idea in its bluntest formulation. And yet it is the fragile assumption upon which an entire edifice of formulas, calculations and predictions is ultimately based.

What attracts economists to questionable ideas and makes them so belligerent? The best way to answer that question is to think of economics more as a faith than as a science.

**I**f you look at some of the personal recollections of the current cohort of free-market economists, you usually find a common thread. At some point in their early lives, beset by the usual self-doubts of youth, they discovered the market and fell in love. Some of them actually use those words. The market offered them a certainty that no other available creed could provide. It gave them a cascade of answers. In fact, given the initial assumptions of individual rationality, the market can answer all questions — not just questions about trade or jobs or inflation but all the important questions of life. Even questions about the price of popcorn at the movies.

In that respect, free-market economics resembles such earlier claimants to truth as Marxism and psychoanalysis — sweeping theoretical systems that provide their acolytes a reassuring certainty in exchange for a few gigantic assumptions as starting points. Like Marxists and Freudians, free-market economists take refuge from their critics by retreating under the cloak of unimpeachable science.

Liberties

MAUREEN DOWD

# Pitcher in the Rye

The following conversation took place between Harry Evans of Random House and J.D. Salinger. Mr. Evans was on his car phone in Manhattan when he reached the author in his New Hampshire home. The call was taped by a couple at Yaddo who heard it on a scanner that happened to pick up the cellular transmissions. The couple, who care passionately about the impact of publishing on literature, made the tape available to *The New York Times*.

Jerry, Harry Evans here. You're back! It's a bloody miracle. Your first book in 34 years! And we're all the better for it. Everybody at the Four Seasons is beside himself. And the timing, Jerry, pure Rip Van Winkle. To be perfectly frank, old friend, you had taken the *Famously Reclusive* thing as far as it could go. I know you found publishing a terrible invasion, that you just like to write for yourself. Privacy can be lovely, or so I'm told. Dick Morris — you know Dick, don't you? His book tanked, but I'm sure we can get something going in Hollywood. Anyway, he's right here next to me and he says, good for you and for all that privacy.

I remember reading that you once said, "There is a marvelous peace in not publishing." Intriguing concept. But, Jerry, listen. There's a downside to all that peace. It doesn't sell. Tragedy sells. Incest sells. Tawdriness sells. Repressed memories sell. Rotten mothers sell.

Besides, you were making Thomas Pynchon look like Jay McInerney. Your act worked too well. Kids today don't even know who you are. They've never heard of "To Catch a Rye." What's that, Dick? Oh, yeah, "The Catcher in the Rye." We don't have adolescent angst any more. We have Jenny McCarthy in her underwear.

Anyway, Jerry, a lot has changed since you disappeared into the woods back in '51. It's a whole new book business. The Pope goes on book tour now. The First Lady goes. It's sad, Jerry, but as my wife, Tina Brown, told Lillian Toler, America, unlike England, is completely driven by money and commercial concerns.

We're not talking the Guinness Book Mart any more. We're talking trailer trucks backing up to Barnes & Noble. We're talking TV ads and home shopping networks. We're talking tie-ins — Holden Caulfield baseball caps, Franny and Zooey action figures — and the Web. Dot com. Jerry, dot com. Your own home page. We're talking Oprah's book club and Imus's radio

show and warbling your favorite show tunes on "Rosie O'Donnell."

You can't get away with recycling that photo with the crewcut and hound-dog eyes. You have to do "Charlie Rose" now, and we're not letting you put a blue dot over your face. American society has changed, Jerry. They don't prize the strong, silent type any more. They like the weak, chatty type. You've given two interviews in 45 years? Try two interviews in 45 seconds on a press junket.

## The trouble with Harry.

Look, Jerry, fiction is in big trouble. This is the age of the memoir. I got Colin \$6 million. I got Dick \$2.5 million. I got Christopher Reeve \$3 million. People don't have time for fine writing. They're busy, Jerry. They have gorged on a rich diet of celebrity and personality — *People* magazine and Larry King and Barbara Walters — and now they can't sit still for anything but a scoop or a scandal.

Which brings me to the reason for this call. You gave that old New Yorker story to that dinky publisher in Virginia because you wanted everybody to know you were still around. Message delivered. We get it, Jerry. Now get real. If a third-rate story about the Glass family is being hailed as the literary coup of the decade, what would they call a hot Salinger book? You're the last man in America who hasn't cashed in. Join the party, Jerry. America's Most Famous Reclusive Reveals All! The J.D. Salinger story by J.D. Salinger as told to J.D. Salinger. From Clearasil to Depends, from the pimply, alienated Holden to the 78-year-old, alienated Jerry. C'mon, even Update let Rabbit grow up. I want to publish it. I want to advance it. I want to sell it. I want to put it on display at a Barneys breakfast. Don't worry. We won't do a panel with Gene Lebel, John Jay and Dr. Ruth. It will just be you and Buddy and Seymour.

Tina will serialize it. Your old magazine, Jerry, your old magazine. They say I'm a cheap hustler, but don't you believe it. I'm an expensive hustler.

Jerry? Jerry? Are you there? Am I losing you or did you hang up? Dick! I think he hung up. JERRY?

## New Encyclopedia of Zionism and Israel

In many respects, the history of Zionism is co-extensive with the history of the Jewish people in the last hundred years. The intense debate between proponents and opponents of Zionism has abated only with the renewal of Jewish statehood in 1948, when world Jewry rallied in support of the newly-born state.

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# Vilna treasure trove rescued from church

In the city that was once the center of the Ashkenazi world, books forsaken for 50 years may be restored to Jewish hands, Marilyn Henry reports



The Strashun Library, Vilna, circa 1920: A thriving center of Jewish life. (Courtesy Yad Vashem Archives)

Confiscated by the Germans, then concealed by the Soviets, a treasure trove of 370 Torah scrolls and Jewish books languished in a church in Vilnius, previously called Vilna, the bygone thriving center of Ashkenazi Jewish life. Once the property of YIVO, a research institute founded in Vilna and now based in New York, the Telshe Yeshiva and numerous synagogues, the Judaica was claimed — but not cared for — by the National Library of Lithuania.

Improperly stored, often in heaps on the floor, the Judaica was left to the charge of two elderly women who struggled to sort and catalog it. YIVO officials tried for years to gain access to the books. The materials were the legacy of the Jews of what once was Vilna, in Poland, YIVO argued, not of a state library in what is now Vilnius, Lithuania.

The Judaica was of no use in a society where few read or write Yiddish or Hebrew, YIVO contended. "There's no one left in Lithuania who can make any good use of this material, or one left with the scholarly or linguistic skills to read these books, even the title pages," said Allan Nadler, YIVO's director of research. "If these were useful, they would not have been sitting untouched for 50 years."

Further, a spokesperson from YIVO said, it was hard to understand how the materials could be a Lithuanian treasure when they are remnants of the world of Polish Jewry.

The battle over who owns the Judaica and where the material should be housed led to eight years of shattered arrangements between Lithuanian officials and YIVO, the famed institute, established in 1925 in Vilna, Poland, as a center of secular and traditional learning, and which moved to New York in 1940.

"What has really complicated matters is the constant turnover of regimes and then political parties within an independent Lithuania, so just when we get to a point where we think we've reached an agreement, a new set of officials is installed, and they see things differently," said Zachary Baker, a YIVO archivist.

However, the battle may be over — for now. Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius announced earlier this month that, once the cataloging and classification of the books is completed, the Jewish books and Torah scrolls will be transferred to the Jewish State Museum in Lithuania. Vagnorius also pledged that his government would support a YIVO team to help with the cataloging.

The prime minister's decision averts, at least temporarily, a tangled dispute over whether the books are Jewish or Lithuanian treasures. It also moots the question of whether they should remain in Lithuania, where the small, aging Jewish population can neither care for nor use them.

THERE ARE many Judaica collections in Eastern European and former Soviet libraries. Some, such as those in Warsaw, Kiev and Lvov, are being taken care of in what experts say is a professional way. There are other archival collections, generated before the war by local Jewish organizations, that now are housed in regional and central depositories.

However, the Vilna Judaica is probably greater than collections at other libraries. "It's a large collection because of the rich cultural life and intellectual life of Lithuanian Jewry," said Zachary Baker, a YIVO archivist. "There was quite an impressive array of libraries in that area."

Vilna, the city Napoleon called "Jerusalem of the North," was famous for the Strashun Library, the repository theater known as the Vilna Troupe, and as the home of Elijah ben Solomon Zalmen, known as the Vilna Gaon, the pre-eminent 18th century rabbi of the non-hassidic world.

The city was transferred from Poland to Lithuania under the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact in 1939. The Soviet Union took over the country the next year. Vilnius later was used by the Nazis as one of the main points for collecting and channeling books that were to be sent to Germany where they were to be incorporated into German libraries, including the so-called Institute for the Study of the Jewish Question. The Nazis used the former YIVO building as the collection point.

The Reich killed 240,000 Jews in Lithuania; today, fewer than 4,000 remain.

The material uncovered in Lithuania and elsewhere is the legacy of Soviet library policies, as well as Nazi-era actions. "In terms of Soviet policies, we are dealing with a country — no matter what republic you are talking about — that sought to restrict access to information that was politically suspect or politically not in tune with what the regime was propagating," Baker said.

"The Judaica is only one small piece of a much larger set of issues," said Baker.

Three years ago, in the Vilnius church, Baker saw books in German, Polish, Russian, French and English that had been confiscated from other

libraries by the Soviet regime and "kept under lock and key as part of the information-control policy of the Soviet Union," he said.

It is not clear what will happen to some of these other materials. In many cases they cannot be returned to their owners because the institutions that created them no longer exist. Baker said.

YIVO officials in New York got the first glimmer that some of the Vilna Judaica had survived in 1988, when an article was published that described the library stamps found in the Vilna collection. It was written by Emanuelis Zingeris, now a member of the Lithuanian parliament and the driving force behind the Jewish State Museum in Vilnius.

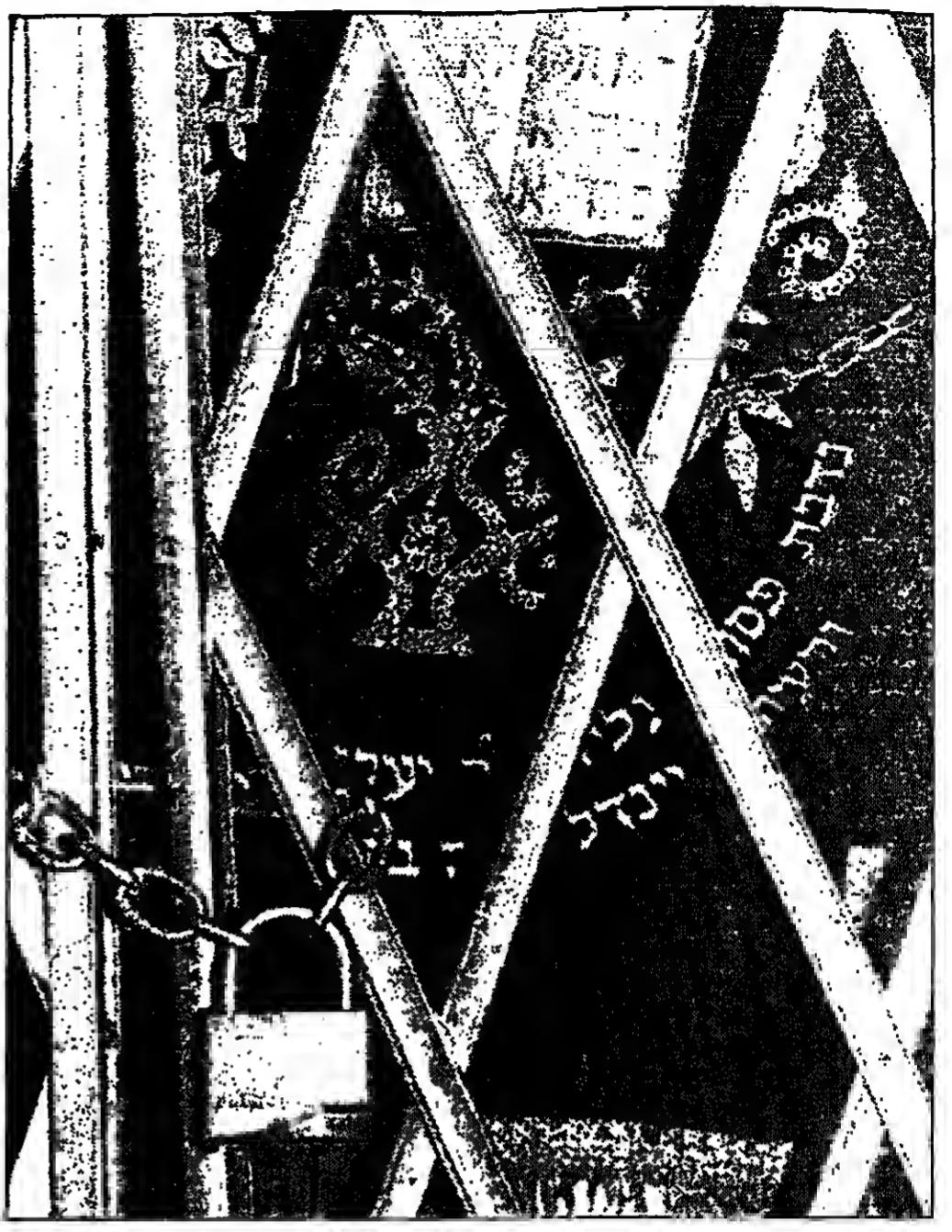
The Vilna Judaica gained international attention late last year with an article in *The New York Times*. While that article appears to have propelled Vagnorius's surprising announcement, the publicity may have been a double-edged sword. YIVO suddenly found itself nearly competing with dozens of Jewish organizations bent on rescuing the materials, with vastly different ideas about whether and where the Judaica should be moved.

Some of the advocates saw the Lithuanian effort to retain the Judaica as a ploy to induce American Jews to donate money to a Lithuanian institution to house material that belonged in the US or Israel. Others said the location of the Judaica was less important than the fact that it needed to be identified and preserved, with ready access by scholars.

Yet others said that having the materials moved to the Jewish Museum would prove to be a mixed blessing. On one hand, that would place the Judaica in Jewish hands. But, once it was in Jewish hands, it was unlikely that the Judaica would be permitted to leave the country. "Let's say they find space on the shelves and catalog it. Theo what?" asked one researcher who sought to have the Judaica moved to the US. "What use will it be to scholars? So then it will languish in Jewish hands."

The Lithuanian Jewish community also seemed to be splintered.

"Is there some simple way to resolve this?" said Mikhail Jakobas, director of one of two Hebrew



Locked away: 370 Torah scrolls from Vilna may at long last be returned to the Jewish community after languishing in a church for years. (Bernard Edelman)

schools in Lithuania. "No, of course not. But I came from Telshe. And I wonder now did my grandfather write in the margins of those books? Are they what turned my father into a great and learned man?"

"I can't say that this will ever be a center of Jewish learning again," he told the *Times*. "I know that our renaissance here is in the past. But books are our love. And as much as I admit that more people would use them, someplace else I cannot stand to see them leave. Too much has left here already."

The Habad rabbi in Vilnius, Sholom Ber Krinsky, said he did not believe the books will be used properly in Lithuania. "They need to be rescued even if that means taken from us."

In the meantime, the books are safe, according to a contingent that visited Vilnius earlier this month.

"The books are not in immediate danger," Andrew Baker, director of European affairs of the American Jewish Committee, said after he and a YIVO representative toured the church and met with the prime minister shortly before Vagnorius's announcement.

The 370 Torah scrolls and scroll fragments, however, were not available for close inspection, he said. They were tagged and wrapped in a muslin-like fabric and it was not possible to determine their condition, or whether the heavier scrolls were complete.

"If there are usable Torah scrolls, we would like to get them to congregations where they can be used, whether they are in Lithuania or Eastern Europe or America," Baker said. "I think we all believe that they belong in a synagogue, not in some library storage room."

## EARTHLY CONCERNS

### The right spice for treating wounds

By DYORA BEN SHAUL

Until only a couple of decades ago, modern science tended to scoff at claims made by practitioners of folk medicine about the value of certain plants in curing disease. Even then, it was acknowledged that digitalis, belladonna and quinine, as well as some other drugs, were derived from plants that had been used for centuries as folk remedies but somehow the idea persisted that all the rest were merely the result of superstition. But a new wave of interest swept the scientific community involving researchers from disciplines from botany to microbiology, and some of these long-known remedies were found to possess true medicinal powers. But the investigators wish to profit from their discoveries resulted, more often than not, in

legal actions, since almost every drug company that had funded a team to explore some plant, if it showed promise, wanted an exclusive patent on its use. But patent authorities in a number of countries are not sure that one can patent a material that has been in use for hundreds, even thousands of years, albeit not by mainstream medical professionals, and this has tied up the patent applications on a number of products. Two examples in particular stand out. The first is the common tree parasite, *Viscum album*, or mistletoe. This plant has been in use for at least 3,000 years. It was used by the Druids and the early Roman conquerors of England reported on it. It was a part of the pharmacognosy of people all over Europe and was used for a variety of illnesses. Some researchers say it

was the famous "golden bough" of the priests of Nemi. In the 20th century Rudolf Steiner made a preparation from this plant that has been and still is used in Steiner clinics and a lot of people claim that the preparation of mistletoe juice cured their malignancies. Now the University of Southern California in Los Angeles has filed application for a worldwide patent on the use of mistletoe in the treatment of cancer and AIDS, diseases which seem to be ameliorated by the extracts of the plant. The second is the common kitchen condiment, turmeric,

(*Curcuma longa*) also known as "haldi," and *karkom* in Hebrew. This plant has been the mainstay of Indian medicine for as long as anyone can remember. Ancient writings say that soldiers carried a small bag of powdered turmeric and poured the powder immediately into sword and saber wounds to prevent infection, stop bleeding and enhance healing. There is probably no person alive in India whose scraped knees and other cuts and scratches from childhood were not treated with powdered turmeric or a paste made of the powder. In addition, Indian pharmacognosy lists a total of 1,700 different

medicinal uses for the plant. Last year two American scientists managed to receive a patent for the use of turmeric as a treatment for wounds but the outcry from the Indian government has been such that the patent is now being contested. Certainly the claim that the two researchers were the "first to use this powder to treat wounds" is unlikely to be upheld. India has been particularly sensitive to these sorts of claims which they term as "piracy" ever since 1985 when several big drug companies received patents to exploit the neem tree of India (*Azadirachta indica*) as a source



for pesticides. The Indians have used the juice from the neem tree for centuries as a pesticide in homes and gardens.

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Local composer Yosef Tal and his works are honored by the Jerusalem Music Center's Young Musicians Ensemble tonight.

ENGLISH THEATER

HELEN KAYE
Daphne du Maorier's gothic thriller Rebecca is the story of how a dead woman nearly destroys a new love...

20s come to terms with the works of a composer who has already past his 80th birthday.

CLASSICAL MUSIC

MICHAEL AJZENSTADT
The young and talented members of the Jerusalem Music Center's Young Musicians Ensemble pay tribute tonight (8:30) to Yosef Tal...

FILM

ADINA HOFFMAN
MICHAEL COLLINS - Neil Jordan's big, bloody epic takes place in that cataclysmic period of Irish history between the failed Easter Rebellion of 1916 and the assassination of Collins...

TV

- CHANNEL 1
6:30 News flash
6:31 News in Arabic
7:00 Good Morning, Israel
19:30 News headlines
19:35 Roseanne
20:00 Discover Magazine
20:30 Babylon 5
21:10 Extreme
22:00 News in English
22:25 Under Suspicion
23:00 Hunter
00:00 Dad's Army

MOVIE CHANNEL

- 18:30 Deep Water Haven
17:00 American Chart Show
18:00 French program
19:30 News headlines
19:35 Roseanne
20:00 Discover Magazine
20:30 Babylon 5
21:10 Extreme
22:00 News in English
22:25 Under Suspicion
23:00 Hunter
00:00 Dad's Army

PRIME TIME TV

Table with 8 columns (1-8) and 8 rows (19:30-23:00) listing TV programs like News, Popolitics, and Mirrors.

MOVIE CHANNEL

- 20:00 Rocko's Modern Life and Animaniacs
20:30 Roseanne
21:15 Party of Five
22:30 Temptations of an Monk
23:00 The Best of The Tonight Show with Jay Leno

CABLE

- ARABIC PROGRAMS
18:30 Sport
19:00 News
19:30 Panorama
18:00 Amores
19:30 News in Arabic
19:30 Doctors Talk
20:45 International Art Magazine
21:15 Angel on My Mind

RADIO

- 6:06 Morning Concert
6:30 Sabbath
6:30 World Sport
11:30 CNN Newscast
12:30 World News
13:30 Business Day
15:30 American Edition



CRYPTIC CROSSWORD

ACROSS
6 But he probably hasn't a small vocabulary (3,2,3,5)
8 Egyptian deity in a bus cart (6)
9 Honest view about retrograde art (8)
10 Have endless aspiration for a dance (3)

Crossword puzzle grid with numbers and some filled letters.

SOLUTIONS

JERUSALEM CINEMATHEQUE Lone Star 4:30
Shanghai Trud 7:45 Short Cuts 8:15
The Element of Crime 8:45 G.G. Gil 8:45

MOVIES

First Contact 4:45, 7:15, 9:45
The Ghost and the Darkness 4:45, 7:15, 9:45
MORIAH 4:45, 7:15, 9:45

QUICK CROSSWORD

ACROSS
1 Merits (anag) (6)
4 Opportunity (6)
7 Fiddler (9)
9 Fruitful (4)
10 Hebridean island (4)

